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IN THIS ISSUE


*Survey of Byzantine Numismatics 1950-1965* — J. Malter

*Coins of the Genoese Rulers of Chios 1314-1329* — P. Lambros

*The Ancient and Byzantine Bronze-Cast Forgeries from Istanbul*

*Studies on Metrology of Byzantine Coins* — J. Malter

*A Roman Amnesty of 384 A.D.*



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# CONTENTS

*The Coins of the Brothers Martino and Benedictus II Zaccaria, the Genoese rulers of Chios, 1314-1329* ....69
By Paul Lambros

*A List of Some of the Ancient and Byzantine Bronze-Cast Forgeries sold in Istanbul* .....81

*A Roman Amnesty of A.D. 384* .....79

*A Survey of Byzantine Numismatic Bibliography 1950-1965 Introduction* .....83
By Joel L. Malter

*The Progress of Studies on Byzantine Coin-Metrology 1950-1965.* .....87
By Joel L. Malter

On the cover. Silver tetradrachm of Philip II. Obv. Head of Zeus Olympius laureate to right.

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# The Coins of the Brothers Martino and Benedictus II Zaccaria, the Genoese rulers of Chios 1314-1329

By Paul Lambros*

The family of Zaccaria, also 'called di Castro' or 'di Castello' because of the district of Santa Maria di Castello in which their ancestral home was located, was among the richest and most powerful houses of Genoa in the thirteenth century. In the year 1289, Fulcho Zaccaria, son of another Zaccaria who had held civic office in 1202, died at a very old age in Genoa, having had six sons, two of whom are to be mentioned in this paper: Manuele and Benedetto. The first, during his residence in Constantinople,[1] managed by means of his chivalry and genius, to gain the favor of Emperor Manuel VIII Palaeologus[2] who gave him as a grant the district of Phocaea in Asia Minor[3] and the nearby mountains with their alum mines. By the year 1274 Manuele Zaccaria had already made a great fortune from the alum mines and other enterprises. He died in 1288 leaving nine children, none of whom was of age. One of them was Tedisio, the same one who later became governor of the Two Phocaeas[4] and ruled for many years. On the death of Manuele, his equally energetic brother Benedetto succeeded

*This paper, originally published in Greek in the *'Deltion' of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece*, Vol. 2, 1885, pp. 5-15 is now translated into English for the first time and is the most complete, and in fact, unique monograph published to date on the coinage of the first Genoese rulers of Chios. While working on the translation, I had the opportunity to correct some historical details and to add some information in the text of the translation manuscript based on the monograph of W. Miller, "The Zaccaria of Phocaea and Chios, 1275-1329" (See *Essays on the Latin Orient*, 1921, Repr. 1967, pp. 283-296) in an effort to make the historical introduction to the coins more complete and useful to the modern reader. The numismatist working in the coinages of this period knows, of course, that the coins issued by the Zaccaria in Chios are extremely rare, but when it comes to the point of checking whether a coin has been published, he is at a loss because now only are copies of Lambros' monograph equally as rare as the coins, but it was written in the purest of purist modern Greek, an idiom which only a few numismatists and medievalists can read. All of the footnotes have been added to this translation. *Al. Barozzi.*

1. Manuel was first sent to Constantinople as an ambassador from Genoa in 1264. Early in 1275, accompanied by his brother he again went to Constantinople. See Miller, W. 'The Zaccaria of Phocaea and Chios,' in *Essays on the Latin Orient* (1921, Repr. 1967) p. 284.

2. Though his mission as an ambassador was unsuccessful, Michael VIII appreciated his business-like qualities. Cf. Miller, *ibidem*. p. 284, note 5.

3. At the north of the Gulf of Smyrna. According to the Byzantine chronographers, the medieval town was built upon the ruins of the ancient city of Phocaea.

him at his post, a brave soldier distinguished in various wars and especially known for his part in the defense of Tripolis in Syria and Ptolemais in Palestine. Benedetto, being an implacable enemy of the Mussulmans, collaborated with Pope Boniface VIII and spent great amounts of money from his colossal fortune in planning for the recovery of the Holy Land. However, the Crusade planned for 1301 failed because of the rivalry of the maritime Italian states, and Benedetto remained in Phocaea. When he was obliged to leave in the following year, he appointed his nephew Tedisio (or *Ticino*) as governor and he, following in the steps of his uncle, bravely and successfully defended the city from the attacks of the neighboring Turks.

In those days, the nearby islands of Chios, Samos and Kos, were in a state of anarchy, being used as the lairs and refuges of pirates.[5] Benedetto, having sailed to the Orient with a powerful fleet in 1303, and wishing to put an end to this miserable situation, did not hesitate to ask the then emperor of Byzantium, Andronicus II, either to send a considerable garrison to Chios, or to entrust the island to him. Since the emperor did not answer this request promptly. Benedetto occupied the island on his own initiative in 1304. Some time later he received an answer from the emperor who granted Chios to him for ten years, on the condition that the imperial standard be flown from the ramparts of the city as before. Benedetto was not obliged by this arrangement to pay any tribute to the emperor, but only to make a voluntary contribution.

Thus, Benedetto, in becoming master of the island of Chios in this way, reconstructed the fallen buildings, fortified the city[6] and reaped profits from the trading of gum from the

4. Phocaea, when given as a grant to Manuele Zaccaria, consisted of a single town situated to the west of the alum mountains. Later Manuele built a small fortress on the seashore at the foot of the mountain and this grew into the town of New Phocaea. In Medieval Italian maps and documents the first city is indicated as *Foglia Veccia* and the latter as *Foglia Nuova*. The district was also known as the *Two Phocaeas (Due Fogli)*. Miller, *ibidem*, p. 285.

5. Turks, Greeks and Latin 'war lords' during this period of anarchy, used piracy as a profitable occupation. Their memory is preserved in local tradition, folktales and ballads of the inhabitants of the Aegean islands to this day. These pirates, following the steps of their ancient predecessors, hid parts of their booty in small uninhabited islands where they are still found by fishermen and treasure hunters from time to time. Many of the 'Latin Orient' medieval hoards offered from time to time in the European coin-market originate from these sites.

6. "*Refortified the capital, restored the fallen buildings, heightened the walls and deepened the ditch—significant proofs of his intention to stay.*" Miller, *ibid*, p. 287.

mastic plantations. But in 1307 he died peacefully, willing his first son Palaeologus,[7] who was then residing in Genoa, to be his successor (in Chios. He left Phocaea to his half-brother Nicolino). Palaeologus immediately sailed to Chios where he established himself as ruler, while Nicolino arrived at Phocaea demanding from Tedisio a full statement of account for his five years of administration there. As the report which was forthcoming was not satisfactory to Nicolino, he planned to dismiss Tedisio from his office and to appoint Andriolo Cattaneo della Volta,[8] husband of his sister, as governor. Tedisio, however, who flew from his uncle's ire seeking revenge, went to the Catalan Grand Company at Gallipoli.[9] He made an alliance with them and then guided an expedition of the Catalans against Phocaea, which they soon sacked[10] and terribly pillaged.

Meanwhile, Palaeologus Zaccaria had continued in his father's footsteps, the great and profitable enterprise of the mastic plantations in Chios, amassing a great fortune. He governed Chios until his death in 1314, a short time after he had succeeded in obtaining a new confirmation of his sovereignty for five more years from Emperor Andronicus II. Palaeologus, at his death, left two sons, Martino and Benedictus II[11] to whom he bequeathed Chios shortly before his death. As his uncle Nicolino was by this time dead, Andriolo Cattaneo had achieved direct control of Phocaea.

Martino and Benedictus II, succeeding their father[12] in the rule and occupation of Chios, united their efforts and

7. Benedictus was married to one of the sisters of Michael VIII Palaeologus. On his career, before succeeding his brother Manuele in the rule of Chios, see Miller, *ibid.* p. 285.

8. Tedisio was informed of his uncle's plans by his cousin who advised him to flee while there was still time. See Miller, *ibidem*, p. 288.

9. An enterprising company providing fully equipped armies of mercenaries to the rulers and pretenders in this dynastically confused period of Mediterranean history who had enough gold to hire them. Tedisio enrolled himself in the ranks of this company with the help of Muntaner. See Miller, *ibid*, p. 288.

10. A Catalan flotilla arrived at *Foglia Nuova* the night of Easter 1307. By the next morning the Catalans had scaled the walls of the castle and sacked the city. See Miller, *ibidem*, p. 288. Not long after this event, Tedisio, with the help of the Catalans, conquered the island of Thasos which had been held by the Byzantines and established himself as ruler. His rule there lasted from 1307 to 1313.

11. It is not well established from the known sources and documents that Martino and Benedictus II were sons of Palaeologus Zaccaria. Most modern Historians and among them Miller (*ibidem*. p. 289 and note 2) consider them to be sons of Nicolino Zaccaria and assume that Palaeologus was without progeny.

12. Cf. above note 11.

actively repulsed the attacks of both the Turks[13] and the Catalan pirates. Martino, the elder, being brave and daring, obtained so much favor in the eyes of the master of Achaia, Philip I of Taranto, the titular Latin pretender to the throne of Constantinople, that Philip and his wife Catherine of Valois, named him "king and despot of Asia Minor," in a document dated May 21, 1315, adding to his grant the islands *Oenoussa, Marmara,* (= Prokonnesos), *Tenedos, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Ikaria* and *Kos.* The two brothers shared their authority and in 1319 obtained from Andronicus II still another prolongation of their sovereignty for five more years. After this time it seems that they began to quarrel and had disputes related to sharing the income from Chios. Somehow, in a way unknown to us, Martino managed to become the sole master of Chios. For this reason, the confirmation of the occupation of Chios for another five years, once again given in 1324 by the emperor, was given to Martino alone. He continued to rule the island and to fight the Turks with great success, and also began to build a new and well fortified castle. However, when Andronicus III "the younger" ascended to the throne of Constantinople[14] the inhabitants of Chios sent one of their notables, Leon Kalohetos, as an envoy. By describing the rich income from the tribute of Chios, they succeeded in attracting the attention of the emperor and, promising their cooperation, the Chians asked Andronicus III to send aid and to deliver them from the yoke of the Genoese ruler.

Simultaneously Benedictus II, who had appropriated for himself 6,000 "hyperpyra" from the income of Chios, was quarreling with Martino and also went to the emperor to lodge a complaint and ask for help against his brother. Taking the above as a pretext, and also because the last confirmation of the Zaccaria sovereignty had expired, Andronicus III ordered Martino to desist from building his new castle and to come to Constantinople to request in person a prolongation of his lease-agreement. Martino, however, did not obey, and on the contrary hastened to complete his building and to gather arms. For this reason the emperor sailed against Chios in the fall of 1329 with a strong and magnificently prepared fleet of 105 ships which immediately took control of the most strategic sites of the island. Martino, on the other hand, was obliged, after having three of his galleys sunk, to retreat

13. For a detailed account see Miller, *ibidem*, p. 289.
14. Andronicus II Palaeologus died May 24, 1328. He was succeeded by his grandson Andronicus III who ruled the empire from 1328 to June 15, 1341.

inside the ramparts of his new castle, shutting himself up with eight hundred soldiers. Unable to resist for long, he surrendered to the emperor. While his wife, Jacqueline de la Roche, and his sons Bartholemy and Centurione were permitted to leave with their escort with all they could carry of their property. Martino himself was taken to Constantinople, a prisoner in chains. After this the emperor generously rewarded Kalothetos and the other notables of Chios and appointed Benedictus II the sub-prefect of Chios, also giving him half the income from the island which at that time amounted to 120,000 gold pieces a year. But Benedictus II was not satisfied with this offer and demanded complete sovereignty over Chios and all of its income as a reward for his treachery. He left with three galleys and went to Constantinople in Galata whence, in the following year, 1330, he undertook a campaign against Chios with his own fleet augmented by eight hired Genoese galleys. Having landed and attacked the town, the Genoese soldiers were bravely repulsed by the Byzantine garrison. Many of Bendictus' mercenaries were killed, and he himself, totally defeated, died of a heart attack (apoplexy) just seven days later.

Martino, however, remained in the prisons of Constantinople until 1338 when he was delivered, thanks to the mediation of the Pope Benedict XII and Philip VI, king of France. A few years later he joined an army of crusaders which had undertaken a campaign to capture Smyrna and there he died[15] fighting bravely on January 15, 1345.

## Martino and Benedictus II Zaccaria, 1314-1320?

Coins of Benedictus I Zaccaria and of his son Palaeologus have not been found yet. In succession there come next Martino and Benedictus II. The description of the coins struck by them known to date follows:[16]

1. *obv.* + *M. 7. B. ZACHARIE.* Buckler bearing the coat of arms of the family of Zaccaria. *Rev.* +*CIVITAS. SYI.*

15. On the last years of Martino Zaccaria, see Miller, *ibid.*, p. 293.
16. Before Lambros, the numismatic reference on these issues was the monograph of D. Promis, *La zecca di Scio durante il dominio dei Genovesi.* One year after the publication of the article on the coins of Martino and Benedictus II Zaccaria, Lambros published a complete monograph on the medieval coinage of Chios which is one of the most rare of all his works: P. Lambros *Ta mesaionika nomismata ton dynaston tes Chiou.* (The Medieval Coins of the Dynasts of Chios). Athens 1886 (82 pp.) in which was included the article translated here.

Cross. Gold. 0.860 grams.

2. *Obv.* + *M. 7. B. ZACHARIAS.* Cross. Rev. *IC-X.* Jesus Christ seated on throne. Gold. 0.919 grams.
3. *Obv.* + *CIVITAS. SYI. M. 7. B. ZA.* The ramparts of the town of Chios with six towers. *Rev.* + *SERVORUM IM(PE)RATORIS.* Cross. In each corner of it, a small pellet. Silver. 1.450 grams.
4. *Obv.* + *CIVITAS. SYI. M. 7. B. ZA.* The ramparts of the town of Chios with eight towers. *Rev.* + *SERVORUM IM(PE)RATORIS.* The cross of Jerusalem, that is, a large cross with four small ones at the corners. Silver. 1.550 grams. In the British Museum. Published by Schlumberger. *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin,* Pl. XIV, No. 3. But the illustration is not exact, and the new illustration in this paper is based on a cast sent to me by the Director of the British Museum, R. S. Poole, to whom I express my thanks.
5. *Obv.* + *CIVITAS. SYI. M. 7. B. ZA.* The ramparts of the town of Chios with eight towers. *Rev.* + *SERVORUM IM-(PE)RATORIS.* The cross of Jerusalem, that is, a large cross with four small ones at the corners. Silver. 1.520 grams. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin.* Supplement, Plate XXI, No. 10. Two specimens of this type struck from the same dies are known, the one being that published by Schlumberger which weighs 1.520 grams, and the second being in my collection, which weighs 1.650 grams.
6. *Obv.* + *M. 7. B. ZACHARIA.* Cross having ornate ends on the arms. In each corner of the cross, a small globule. *Rev.* + CIVITAS SYI. Castle with three turrets. Silver. 0.830 grams. Promis, *La Zecca di Scio durante il dominio dei Genovesi,* Pl. I, No. 1.
7. *Obv.* + *M. 7. B. ZACHARIAE.* Cross having the ends of the arms ornamented with three pearls. In each corner of the cross, a globule. *Rev.* + *CIVITAS. SYI.* Castle with three turrets, under the castle .·. Silver. 0.780 grams Schlumberger, *ibidem,* Plate XIII, No. 30. At first glance it seems possible that the castle on the two last coins is the coat of arms of the Zaccaria family which also had the name '*di Castro*' or '*di Castello.*' Promis, however, in his essay on the coins of Chios, reports that Della Cella says, on the basis of Rivarolla's work, that the coat of arms of the Zaccaria family was a buckler divided into four parts, the first and fourth of which were gold, and

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Billon

the second and third, red, such as it is illustrated on the coat of arms occupying the obverse of the gold coin. number 1. So we believe that the ring wall of the city of Chios is represented on the reverse of the coins numbered 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, and by no means the alleged coat of arms of the Zaccaria family. The ring wall was a type which. slightly altered later. was accepted by the family of Giustiniani and used on the reverse of all their coins.

8. *Obv.* Saint Isidore and one of the two rulers of Chios, possibly Martino, standing face to face and holding a standard in their right hands. In their left hands, the saint. on the one side, is holding the book of the gospels and the sovereign, on the other, holds a scroll. Near the saint *S SIDOR' SYI*, and by the sovereign *M. 7. B. Z. SVI. IPAT.* Near the spear of the standard, *DVX* with letters in ligature. *Rev. IC-XC.* Jesus Christ seated on throne offering a blessing with his right hand and holding the gospel in his left. A mint sign *O* under the elbow of Christ. Silver. 2.220 grams. See: Cumano. *Illustrazione d'una argentea moneta di Scio sul disegno del matapane di Vehezia.* Trieste 1852. This unique coin is now found in the City Museum of Trieste. Cumano read the legend of this coin as *M. 7. B. Z. SVE. IRII*, but in the exact design sent to me recently by the Director of the Museum of Trieste, Mr. Kunz, the two last words my be clearly read as *SYI. IPAT.*

9. *Obv.* Saint Isidore and one of the two sovereigns of Chios standing face to face holding the pole of a standard in their left hands. Next to the saint who is standing left. *S SIDOR. SYI* (Retr.) and next to the sovereign *M. 7. B. Z. SVI. IMP* (Retr.). By the pole of the flag. DVX. the letters being in ligature. *Rev. IC-XC.* Jesus Christ seated on throne.

Schlumberger. ibidem. Plate XIX. No. 23. A copy of this badly preserved and very worn coin was taken from a design in the possession of Mr. Vincent Promis. However. this is not. as Schlumberger thinks. the one of Cumanos' collection which we have described as No. 8. but another coin of which we do not presently know the location. Though he mentions the essay by Cumano in the preface of his work Promis does not describe nor give a picture of th coin edited by Cumano. publishing only the coin I have listed as No. 6 of my list. At the end. he simply mentions the legends of two other coins of the brothers Zaccaria reading as follows: *M. & B. Z. CV. IMP.*

and *M. & B. Z. SI . IMPR.* and says that he has seen neither of the coins and knows nothing of their description. He assumes, however, that they have the character of the Venetian Matapans. We are of the opinion that the two legends mentioned by Promis are those of the two coins described by us as Nos. 8 and 9, slightly changed, since other coins of the same type are not known in any other museum. Cumano transcribed these legends, "*M(artinus) et B(enedictus) Z(acharias) Insulae Imperii Dux.*" while Promis, on the other hand, reads, "*Martinus et Benedictus Zacharie Sii Vicaroious Imperatoris.*" Guided by the inscriptions of the coins listed above under numbers 3, 4, and 5, we are now able to read and transcribe the legends of these two coins correctly as follows: "*M(artinus) et B(enedictus) Z(achariae) S(er)vi I(m)p(er)at(oris)*" or "*M(artini) et B(enedicti) Z(achariae) S(er)v(orum) I(mperator)is.*" The Byzantine emperor, whose servants the brothers called themselves, was Andronicus II Palaeologus.

Regarding the monetary system used as the basis for the striking of the gold coins of Martino and Benedictus II, if we take as a standard the gold ducats of Genoa minted during that period and bearing the legend "*Ianua quam Deus protegat.*" we see that they weigh from 3.493 gms. to 3.543 gms., the average being 3.518 gms. and the quarter ducat corresponding to 0.880 gms. Thus, the two coins of pure gold described above are undoubtedly quarters of the gold ducat since the weight of coin No. 1 is only a few milligrams less and that of No. 2 is a little heavier than the normal weight. As for the silver coins, there prevails an irregularity, because those listed as Nos. 3, 4 and 5 seem to be Grossi struck according to monetary system of Genoa, while those under Nos. 6 and 7 seem to be half-grossi of the same system. As for Nos. 8 and 9, it is obvious that they were minted according to the system and the types of the Venetian Grosso-Matapan. Saint Isidore, who is represented on the coins of Martino and Benedictus II, suffered his martyrdom in Chios under the Roman Emperor Trajan, c. A.D. 250 and his memory is celebrated on May 14 in the Eastern Orthodox Church. His corpse was preserved in Chios until 1125 when the doge of Venice, Dominico Michielis, coming back victoriously from Tyre, conquered Chios and some other islands. Then, with other precious booty, he transported the body of the saint to

Venice and placed it in the Cathedral of Saint Mark where it is still preserved today.

## Martino Zaccaria, Alone. 1320? - 1329

Benedictus II Zaccaria, having entered into disputes with his brother, was obliged to leave Chios. Martino, on the other hand, after appointing himself the sole ruler of the island, struck the following coins.

10. *Obv.* Saint Isidore and the sovereign Martino standing face to face holding a standard in their right hands. With their left hands the saint is holding the book of the gospels and the sovereign a scroll. Near the saint is the legend *S. ISIDOR. SVI* and by the sovereign is found *M. Z. SV. IMPATOR* [*M(artinus) Z(accaria) s(er)v(us) imp-(er)ator(is)*]. Near the pole of the standard is *DVX* with letters in ligature. *Rev. IC-XC.* Jesus Christ seated on throne, offering a blessing with his right hand and holding the book of the gospels in his left. Under the right elbow of Christ appears the letter O, considered to be the mintmark. Silver. 1.880 gms. *Promis*, Plate I, No. 3.

11. *Obv.* Saint Isidore and the sovereign Martino standing face to face holding a standard. The part of the legend by the saint does not appear, while by the sovereign it can be read *M. Z. SV. IMPA.* and near the pole of the Standard, *DVX*, the letters being in ligature. *Rev.* IC-XC. Jesus Christ seated on throne. Silver. 1.915 gms.

*Promis*, Plate I, No. 4. The coin numbered 10, once belonging to Morel-Fatiö, is now found in my collection, as well as No 11 which is the same coin published by Promis. A third specimen of these very rare coins is found in the collection of Mr. Marignoli in Rome. These issues as well as those of the two brothers listed above as Nos. 8 and 9 were minted according to the standard and the types of the Grosso Matapan of Venice, the regular weight of which is 42½ Venetian grains corresponding to 2.178 gms. On the other hand, we see that No. 8 weighing 2.220 gms. is heavier than the regular weight, while those of Martino are much lighter. However, we must not assume that Martino minted his grossi lighter than the Venetian in order to gain an illegal profit. On the contrary we think that this difference is due to imperfections in the methods of striking coins in the Middle Ages since we find such irregularities in weight appearing even in the Venetian grossi themselves. Thus, of the two Matapans of Laurenzo

Tiepolo in my collection, both in the best condition, one weighs only 37⅔s. Besides the silver Matapans, Martino struck from billion the following coins which are an imitation of the deniers tournois of the Latin sovereigns in Achaia (Peloponnese) which circulated in large numbers in the markets of the Orient.

12. *Obv.* + *M. ZACCHARIA.* Cross. *Rev.* CIVITAS: SYI. Castle. Billon denier tournois.
13. *Obv.* + *M. ZACHARIA.* Cross. *Rev.* CIVITAS: SYI. Castle. Billon denier tournois.
14. *Obv.* + *M. ZACHARIA.* Cross having the ends of the arms ornamented with three pearls. *Rev.* CIVITAS SYI. Castle. Billon denier tournois. Promis. Plate I, No. 2.

## A Roman Amnesty of 384 A.D.

*"Reverence for the annual ceremony of prayer urges that We order all persons who have been accused and prosecuted for minor crimes to be completely exempted from the danger of prison and the fear of punishment. Whence it appears that those persons who are excepted who have been driven by their fierce passions to the more savage crimes. Among these, the first and greatest is the crime of high treason, then the crimes of homicide, sorcery and magic, seduction, adultery and sacrilege, a crime of equal enormity, and violation of tombs, rape, and the coining of counterfeit money."*

From the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius, the three Augusti to Marcianus, Vicar, given on the 11th day of the Kalends of April at Milan in the year of the Consulship of Richomer and Clearchus. (384 A.D.)

[Preserved as Book IX: Title 38, Section 7 of the *Codex Theodosianus*]

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# ROMAN REPUBLICAN DENARII

## From Numismatic Review No. 1, 1968

A 65 **The Earliest Denarii, 187-175 B.C.** Head of Roma. Rv. Dioscuri on horseback r.; ROMA on tablet below. Syd. 140. **Rare.** Fine style. Very Fine. ..... $17.50

A 66 **Anonymous, 155-150 B.C.** Similar Dioscuri type, but no tablet on reverse. Syd. 311. Nice Fine. ..... 10.00

A 67 **L. Sempronius Pitio, 145-138 B.C.** Similar Dioscuri type, but with name of Moneyer. Syd. 402. Very Fine. ..... 15.00

A 68 **Sex. Pompeius Fostlus, 133-126 B.C.** Roma. Rv. Shepherd Faustulus and she-wolf with Twins; PO for POM. Syd. 461a. **Rarity 4.** Very Fine. ..... 22.50

A 69 **L. Minucius, 133-126 B.C.** Roma. Rv. Jupiter in quadriga. Syd. 470, **Rarity 2.** Very Fine. ..... 15.00

A 70 **M. Aburius Geminus, 120 B.C.** Roma. Rv. Sol in quadriga. Syd. 487. Very Fine. ..... 10.00

A 71 **Ti. Veturius, 110-108 B.C.** Bust of Mars r. Rv. Oath scene. Syd. 527, **Rarity 2.** Very Fine. ..... 15.00

A 72 **L. Marcius Censorinus, 82-81 B.C.** Head of Apollo r. Rv. Satyr Marsyas carrying wine-skin; column with statue behind. Syd. 737. **Rarity 2.** Very Fine. ..... 12.50

A 73 **L. Procillius, 78-77 B.C.** Head of Juno Sospita in goat's skin. Rv. Juno in biga. Serrate. Syd. 772, **Rarity 2.** Slightly off center. **Uncirculated.** ..... 15.00

A 74 **C. Hossidius C.f. Geta, 60 B.C.** Bust of Diana r. Rv. Calydonian boar attacked by dog Syd. 903, **Rarity 3.** Choice Very Fine. ..... 17.50

A 75 **Q. Pompeius Rufus, 59 B.C.** Denarius with heads of both his grandfathers. Head of Consul Q. Pompeius Rufus Rv. Head of Sulla. **Only Portrait of Sulla on a coin.** Syd. 908. **Rarity 5;** B. 4; BMC 3883. Extra Fine. ..... 135.00

A 76 **Q. Pomponius Musa, 68-66 B.C.** Denarius. Head of Apollo r.; sandal behind Rv. Thalia, Muse of Comedy, standing l., holding mask and leaning on column. Syd. 821, **Rarity 4.** Extra Fine. ..... 40.00

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# A List of Some of the 'Ancient' and 'Byzantine' Bronze-cast Forgeries Sold in the Bazaars of Istanbul

The continuously increasing interest of American coin collectors in ancient, Byzantine and medieval coins has created a thriving industry in Istanbul and other mid-East tourist spots. The unsuspecting and sometimes ignorant tourists are often victimized by these clever "industrialists" or "artists," if you prefer, because they believe no one would bother to counterfeit a bronze coin selling for less than a dollar. But the fact is that many will bother to do just that since the living standard and wages in the Mediterranean are at extremely low levels. So "be careful" is the advice we give to friends and relatives who visit in this area. If you wish to give a dollar to a big-eyed barefoot urchin who tries to sell you suspicious looking coins, do so; but do not buy his merchandise, for it will only encourage the production of more.

Cast bronze, if you look at its surface with a magnifying glass, has many pin holes on the smooth surfaces of the coin, especially in the field. If the forged specimen has been patinated, you can still see the darker spots, like dots, on the pathalves were joined. The forgers use varying degrees of patina of grey-white, brown and green shades.

The twenty five coins in this list appear to be all cast pieces. None is marked "copy," and most of the types imitated are by no means rare or even scarce. In many cases the forgeries are mixed with real ancient bronzes and sold as part of the group. To understand how devious these forgers are, you will note that even anonymous Byzantine bronzes are offered among their wares. (Nos. 16-19).

LIST OF COINS

1. *THRACE—Istrus.* (400-300BC.) Drachm. Bronze with silver wash, worn off in places, some light green patina. 3.975 gm.
2. PONTUS—*Amisus.* (120-63BC.) Bronze. 20mm diameter. Deceptive. 6.585 gm.
3. PONTUS—*Amisus.* (120-63BC.) Bronze. 21mm. Deceptive. 6.43 gm.
4. PONTUS—*Pharnacia.* (120-63BC.) Bronze. 19mm. Deceptive. 5.8 gm.
5. CAPPADOCIA—*Caesarea.* Hadrian. (117-138AD.) Bronze. 20mm. Crude. 4.84 gm.

6. SYRIA—*Antioch.* Caracalla. (198-217AD.) Tetradrachm. Bronze. 11.95 gm.
7. ROME—*Valerian I.* (253-260AD.) Bronze Antoninianus. 2.47 gm.
8. ROME—*Maximianus I.* (286-308AD.) Bronze Antoninianus. Deceptive. 2.96 gm.
9. ROME—*Constantius I.* (293-305AD.) Bronze Follis. Deceptive due to worn condition. 7.415 gm.
10. BYZANTINE—*Justinian I.* (527-565AD.) Dangerous except for traces of edge seam. 14.2 gm.
11. BYZANTINE—*Justinian I.* Bronze 40 Nummia. Deceptive but of light weight. 13.45 gm.
12. BYZANTINE—*Justinian I.* Bronze 40 Nummia. Cast from same mold as No. 11. Note similarity of flan shape. 16.81 gm.
13. BYZANTINE—*Justin II & Sophia.* (565-578AD.) Bronze 40 Nummia. Dangerous except for traces of edge seam. 8.2 gm.
14. BYZANTINE—*Maurice Tiberius.* (582-602AD.) Bronze 40 Nummia. 8.83 gm.
15. BYZANTINE—*Maurice Tiberius.* Bronze 40 Nummia. Cast from same mold as No. 14. 9.18 gm.
16. BYZANTINE—*Era of Basil II & Constantine VIII.* (Ca. (Anonymous) 976-1028AD.) Bronze Follis. Dangerous but has slight trace of edge seam. 12.78 gm.
17. BYZANTINE—*Michael IV.* (1034-1041AD.) Bronze Follis. Dangerous. 8.495 gm.
18. BYZANTINE—*Michael IV.* Bronze Follis. Dangerous. 8.9 gm.
19. BYZANTINE—*Theodora.* (1055-1056AD.) Bronze Follis. Dangerous. 8.14 gm.
20. BYZANTINE—*Constantine X & Eudocia.* (1059-1067) AD.) Bronze Follis. Dangerous. 5.09 gm.
21. ARMENIA—*Levon I.* (1123-1138AD.) Bronze Tank. Deceptive. 7.66 gm.
22. ARMENIA—*Levon I.* Bronze Tank. Cast from same mold as No. 21. 6.31 gm.
23. ARMENIA—Fantasy piece in lead. 7.0 gm.
24. TURKOMANS—(Urtukis). *Lolouk-Arslan.* (1184-1200 AD.) Gray color metal (white metal) 30mm diameter. 9.89 gm.
25. TURKOMANS—Urtukis. *Yolouk-Arslan.* Bronze 30mm. Deceptive. 8.4 gm.

# A Survey of Byzantine Numismatic Bibliography 1950 - 1965

## INTRODUCTION

by Joel L. Malter

With the recent publication of the reprint of Warwick Wroth's *British Museum Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine Coins*, the last of the four major works on Byzantine numismatics has been reprinted.[1] No other area of numismatics has had all of the major works reprinted. The increasing interest in Byzantine history and art was responsible for these important reprints. But in addition to this *verbatim* repeating of the standard works on Byzantium, there has been a tremendous out-pouring of monographs on Byzantine numismatics. Although the original works of Sabatier, Wroth, Ratto and Goodacre have not been brought up-to-date in the reprint versions of their works, there still has been a wealth of scholarly monographs published in the years following World War II. This monographic literature provides the essential supplementary information for Byzantine numismatics.

Unfortunately, these monographs are not to be found in one or two major numismatic journals. Instead, there are dozens and dozens of learned journals which publish articles on Byzantine numismatics. The collector and scholar of Byzantine numismatics is faced with a tremendous chore in just attempting to find out what has been published in the field. Furthermore, independent scholars tend to specialize in different problem areas connected with Byzantine numismatics. A need for consolidated annotated bibliographies has long been felt for this field.

There are two major publications which announce and an-

1. Warwick Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1908, 2 volumes; was reprinted in 1966 by Argonaut Inc. Publishers of Chicago in one volume. The other three main works that have been reprinted are J. Sabatier, *Description Generale des Monnaies Byzantine*, Paris 1862; reprint by Akademische Druck in 1955; Hugh Goodacre, *A Handbook of the Coinage of the Byzantine Empire*, London, published in three parts, Part I. 1928; Part II, 1931, Part III, 1933, reprinted in 1957 and 1960 with all three parts in one volume by Spink & Sons. The last major reference book that has been reprinted is Rodolfo Ratto, *Monnaies Byzantines*, Lugano, 1930. This famous sale catalogue was reprinted in 1959 in Amsterdam. (The unfinished catalogue of Byzantine coins, many of which are in the Hermitage Museum, J. Tolstoi's, *Monnaies Byzantines*, St. Petersburg 1913-1914, covers only the coinage from Arcadius to Basil I and it is now in the course of being reprinted.)

notate articles and books which appear in the periodical literature. The *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* contains a most complete bibliography of just about everything connected with Byzantium. This journal is essential for those who would like to find out what was written about Byzantine numismatics in every year since the inception of the *BZ* (1892) to date. The American Numismatic Society publishes *Numismatic Literature,* a publication which has listed all numismatic books and articles that appeared each year since 1948.

Yet, as helpful as these two publications are, they lack the consolidation of information which only a separate bibliographical work can provide. This weakness was noted by V. Laurent who in 1952 published an article which attempted to consolidate the monographic literature of the 1940's.[2] Laurent subdivided the literature that had been written during the years from 1940-1949 into nine divisions. After listing the works written under one of the problem areas, Laurent then discussed the major elements of the research uncovered in the articles. The following is a list of Laurent's divisions:

1. GENERAL QUESTIONS
2. NUMISMATIC TERMS OR VOCABULARY
3. METROLOGY
4. MINTS
5. THE COINS
6. THE HISTORIC ROLE OF BYZANTINE COINS
7. NEW MATERIALS, HOARDS
8. FOREIGN IMITATIONS OF BYZANTINE COINS
9. MEDALLIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE PERIOD[3]

Any present day researcher, who intends to work on Byzantine numismatics in the fields listed above, would find Laurent's bibliography essential. But for every article that was published during the forties, there seems to be considerably more that have been published since that time. The need for a second consolidation of Byzantine numismatic periodical literature was felt very strongly in the Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica which met in Rome in the late summer of 1961.

The first attempt to consolidate the literature of the 1950's was made by the noted Byzantine numismatist D. M. Metcalf, who presented a paper to the above-mentioned Congress. Metcalf's paper, "The Byzantine Empire," did not follow Laurent's

2. V. Laurent, "Bulletin de Numismatique Byzantine (1940-1949)," *Revue des Etudes Byzantines,* Vol. 9, 1952, pp. 192-251.
3. *Ibid.*

style.[4] Instead, he discussed the important articles in chronological fashion as these articles touched upon the sequence of Byzantine numismatics. Metcalf stressed the importance of the problems of Byzantine numismatics as they affected the gold and silver coinage as one major problem area, and as they affected the bronze coinage as the other problem area.[5]

Coincidentally in 1961, another esteemed Byzantine numismatist, Philp Grierson, published an article "Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 498—c. 1090," which complements Metcalf's work.[6] Both of these articles list, in footnotes, many of the significant monographs of the period from Laurent's bibliography to 1961. Grierson listed three significant problems which complicate any serious survey of Byzantine numismatics. These are worthy of notation here:

1. *Paucity of written records*
2. *Problem of knowing how to distinguish ceremonial coins from those having economic functions.*
3. *Fact that during the first half of the period (covered by his article) the monetary system of Italy and North Africa was not identical with that of the eastern provinces, so that what may be true of the former was not necessarily true of the latter.*[7]

These underlying problems noted by Grierson and the problems of metrology and provincial mints which concern Metcalf are some of the more significant problem areas which concern the advancement of Byzantine numismatic research. But these two men, and their many excellent monographs on Byzantine numismatics, are only a small portion of the articles in the field of Byzantine numismatics since 1950.

It is the purpose of this writer to cover the bibliography of Byzantine numismatics from the point where V. Laurent halted, 1950 to 1965. Certain essential limitations will be imposed in order to keep this article within the bounds of practicality. Therefore, the time span to be covered will be from the reign

4. D. M. Metcalf, "The Byzantine Empire," *Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica*, Vol. 1, 1961, Rome, pp. 233-245.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
6. Philip Grierson, "Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 498- c. 1090," *Moneta e Scambi Nell'alto Medioevo* (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'alto Medioevo). Spoleto, 1961, pp. 411-453. The most recent bibliography of Byzantine numismatics published after Grierson, is the one by A. Barozzi, "Byzantium and Numismatics," *North American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. 2 [iv], 1965, pp. 229-242; Vol. 3 [v], 1966, pp. 165-174.
7. Grierson, *Ibid.*, pp. 411-412.

of Anastasius I until the fall of the Empire in 1453. Only articles specifically concerned with Byzantine coins will be covered. Such tangent fields as Byzantine seals will not be discussed here except where a seal may shed light on a numismatic subject.

The method that was followed in the research part of this paper was to locate the articles on Byzantine numismatics in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* and *Numismatic Literature*. The data on each article written in the period 1950-1965 was then correlated wherever possible with certain preconceived problem areas. As many of the articles as possible were read. This collating process pointed out five general problem areas that were the concern of Byzantine numismatics in this period. The problem areas were:

1. METROLOGY
2. HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS
3. ECONOMIC POLICY
4. ATTRIBUTIONS
5. HOARDS

Most of the articles listed in the bibliography at the end of this report can be categorized in one or more of the above fields. A few articles will be discussed at the end of this paper in a miscellaneous category.


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# The Progress of Studies on Byzantine Coin Metrology — 1950-1965

by Joel L. Malter

The articles which concern themselves with metrology usually also cover one or more of the following related topics:

A. LIGHT WEIGHT OR OVERWEIGHT COINS

B. DENOMINATIONS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIPS

C. DEBASEMENT

D. STABILITY OF THE BYZANTINE GOLD ISSUES

The weights of the gold coins of Byzantium were carefully listed, but not necessarily analyzed in most of the early works.[8] The stability of the gold content which lasted almost throughout the entire history of the Empire is one of the more amazing facts of Byzantine numismatics. Yet, there were periods when the solidus apparently varied in weight from the average 4.5 grams. Howard L. Adelson in his excellent monograph *Light Weight Solidi and Byzantine Trade During the Sixth and Seventh Centuries*, discussed the interesting series of solidi that were of lighter weight than ordinary solidi. His thesis was that special solidi of lighter weight were used for Byzantine commercial expansion in the West. The unusual mint marks of this series of light weight solidi was carefully studied by Adelson.[9] Adelson is backed by the general agreement of Philip Grierson who has also written on the light weight solidi. Two of Grierson's articles, in particular, cover the light weight solidi. His "Carolingian Europe and the Mancus," and "The Tablettes Albertini and the Value of the Solidus in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries A.D." both discuss the light weight solidi and general accord between the two writers is established.[10]

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8. Howard L. Adelson, "Light Weight Solidi and Byzantine Trade During the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," ANS, *NNM*, 138, New York, 1957. Adelson gives some detailed background to general metrology in the first part of his book.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-20. See J. P. C. Kent's review in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1959, pp. 237-240. See also Jacqueline Lallemand, "Sous d'or byzantine de poids faible aux VIe et VIIe siecles," *Cercle d'Etudes Numismatiques, Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1964, pp. 29-31.

10. Philip Grierson, "Carolingian Europe and the Mancus," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, Vol. 32, 1954, pp. 1059-1074. See *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 49, pts. 1 and 2, 1959, pp. 73-80 for his article, "The Tablettes Albertini and the Value of the Solidus in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries," The word mancus is discussed to indicate the term given to the light weight solidi by the chronicles of the time.

Grierson, in addition to writing about the "mancus," enters the metrology section of this paper with his articles "Notes on the Fineness of the Byzantine Solidus," and "The Debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century,"[11] The former article is a rather brief discussion of the solidus and its metrology. A complete study of the metrology of the gold and electrum coinage of Byzantium is most desirable for the numismatic study of Byzantium. This is especially so for the later period of the Byzantine Empire. The latter Grierson study points out how important the study of the coins themselves is in furthering the information of Byzantine monetary affairs.[12]

One of the more interesting series of studies concerned with metrology is that which covers the unusual denominations of Byzantine coins. A. Veglery and G. Zacos teamed to write a series of articles on unique or unusual Byzantine coins.[13] In the past decade, the unusual denomination, the tetarteron, has received attention of Byzantine numismatists. L. L. Uzman capsulized the history of the question as to whether Nicephorus II, 963-968, debased the solidus to pay for his costly wars. Uzman describes a very light weight gold coin to be a tetarteron of Nicephorus II. He suggested that it could be a forgery but pointed out arguments against this possibility.[14] Philip Grierson in a later article considered the coin a forgery.[15] Grierson and R. S. Lopez have both written about the origin of the tetarteron, but it is possible that some other coins that would fit the characteristics of weight and chronology of the tetarteron have yet to be studied. More research into this

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11. Philip Grierson, "Notes on the Fineness of the Byzantine Solidus," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 54, 1961, pp. 91-97. See the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 47, 1954, pp. 379-394 for his article on "The Debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century."
12. D. M. Metcalf, "The Byzantine Empire," p. 234. See also p. 235 footnote for some other titles on the metrology of Byzantine silver coins.
13. A. Veglery and G. Zacos, "A Unique Silver Coin of Constantine VII," *Numismatic Circular*, Sept. 1956, cols. 379-380. See also the *Numismatic Chronicle*, May 1957; December, 1960; February, 1961; April, 1962; and September, 1963, for other articles on the subject of unusual denominations and their metrology and related factors.
14. L. L. Uzman, "The Tetarteron of Nicephorus II Phocas-Fact or Fiction?", *The Numismatic Circular*, January 1962, pp. 4-5.
15. Philip Grierson, "Tetarteron or Counterfeit? A Note on Mr. Uzman's Coin," *Numismatic Circular*, March 1962, p. 53. See also H. Ahrweiler-Glykatzi, "Nouvelle hypothese sur le tetarteron d'or et la politique monetaire de Nicephore Phocas," *Melanges Georges Ostrogorsky I*, 1963, pp. 1-9.

elusive coin is necessary.[16]

Specific studies on the weights of Byzantine bronze coins have been written by such leading numismatists as A. R. Bellinger and D. M. Metcalf. In his interesting article on the propaganda suggested by Byzantine coins, Bellinger referred to the degeneration of the large folles of Justinian.[17] His findings were thoroughly studied by Metcalf who was of the view that the lowering of the weight of the follis of Justinian was not a gradual reduction as Bellinger indicated but as Metcalf put it, "The new follis was, in fact, carefully regulated not only at the date of its introduction, but for many years subsequently."[18] Metcalf presented a study, in detail, of the follis of Justinian and he tied it into the history of the period in much the same manner as did Adelson with the light weight solidi. Yet, this study of Metcalf as well as that of Adelson covered the metrology of only two relatively unrelated periods and denominations. Much additional work in this area is necessary as Metcalf himself indicated when he wrote, "Metrological studies of the bronze coinage are of an interest which cannot yet be properly assessed."[19]

Metcalf has published other articles as well as a recent book, *Coinage in the Balkans, 820-1355*, in which he discussed the metrology of various Byzantine and related coins.[20] Yet

16. Philip Grierson, "Nomisma, Tetarteron et Dinar: Un plaidoyer pour Nicephore Phocas," *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, Vol. 100, 1954, pp. 75-84. R. S. Lopez, "La Crise du bezant au X^e siecle et la date du Livre du Prefet," *Melanges Henri Gregoire*, II (Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientale et slaves, Vol. 10) pp. 403-418. See also Anthony Cutler, "The Stavraton: Evidence for an Elusive Byzantine Type," ANS *MN XI:* pp. 237-244 for a discussion of another unusual denomination. A related article is T. Gerassimov"s "Les hyperperes d'Andronic III et leur circulation en Bulgare." *Byzantinobulgarica*. Vol. 1, 1962, pp. 213-236.

17. A. R. Bellinger, "The Coins and Byzantine Imperial Policy," *Speculum*, XXXI, 1960, p. 70.

18. D. M. Metcalf, "The Metrology of Justinian's Follis," *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 29, 1960, p. 209.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 218. See also Metcalf's article, "The Byzantine Scyphate Bronze Coinage in Greece," *Annual of the British School in Athens LVI*, for a metrology survey of the scyphate coinage. Another metrology study for Byzantine bronze was written by Margaret Thompson, *The Athenian Agora II: Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period*, Princeton, 1954.

20. D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans, 820-1355*, Thessaloniki, 1965, (Rp. Chicago, 1966) pp. 27, 30ff, 86f, 102, 108f, 118, 120 sq. See also Metcalf's "The New Bronze Coinage of Theophilus and the Growth of the Balkan Themes," ANS. *MN X*, 1962, pp. 81-98. This article delves into the minutiae of the coins and how they indicate the different provincial mints. Another Metcalf article of

there is still no general metrology survey of Byzantine coinage that has connected the isolated findings of scholars as those mentioned above.[21] It seems apparent and perhaps hopeful, from reviewing the growing interest in Byzantine numismatic metrology, that it is just a matter of time before a consolidated work on metrology is published.[22]

similar content is, "The Byzantine Bronze Coinage in the East Mediterranean World," *Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica*, Vol. II, Rome, pp. 521-530. This article stresses follis reforms, provincial mints, secret marks and officinae.

21. A few other important metrological studies are: L. Schindler and G. Kalmann. "Byzantinischen Munzstudien I. Goldmunzen unter 24 Karat von Justinian I. bis Constantin IV, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* Vol. 72, 1947, pp. 107-112. L. Schindler, "Die Reform de Kupfergeldes unter Konstantinos IV." *Numismatische Zeitschrift*. Vol. 76, 1965, pp. 33-35. Vincent Laurent. "Le Juste Poids de l'hyperpyron trachy." *Congres International de Numismatique*. Paris, 1953, Vol. II, pp. 299-307. M. D. H. Larsen. "The Metrology of the Coinage of Trebizond," *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, July 1955, pp. 270-271.

22. Other monographs worthy of mention because of their relationship to metrology are: Philip Grierson, "A Misattributed Miliaresion of Basil II." *Melanges Georges Ostrogorsky I*. 1963. pp. 111-116; R. S. Lopez. "The Dollar of the Middle Ages." *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. II, 1951, pp. 209-234; H. L. Adelson, "Silver Currency and Values in the Early Byzantine Empire." *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society*, 1958, pp. 1-26; Aline A. Boyce, "A Solidus of Artavasdus." ANS. *MN V*, 1952, pp. 89-102; and Joan M. Fagerlie, "A Miliaresion of Romanus III and a Nomisma of Michael IV." ANS, *MN XI*, 1964, pp. 227-236.

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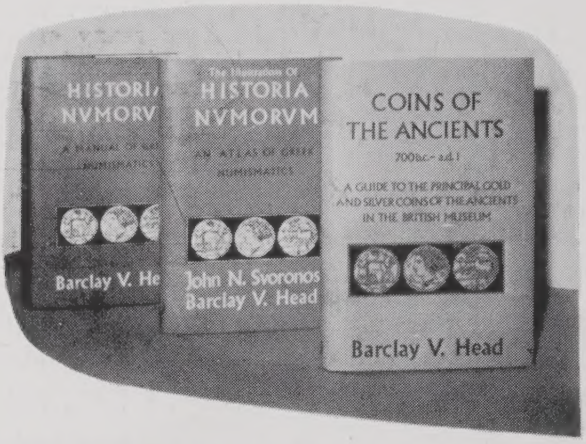
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